

Message Text

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MOSCOW AND WARSAW FOR SENATOR STEVENSON

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ETRD EEWTF FOR PARM RO HU OREP (STEVENSON, ADLAI E.)
SUBJ: SENATOR STEVENSON'S MEETING WITH ROMANIAN PRESIDENT

SUMMARY: DURING SENATOR ADLAI STEVENSON'S 95-MINUTE MEETING
WITH ROMANIAN PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU IN PREDEAL, DISCUSSION
CENTERED ON POSSIBILITIES FOR REDUCING BARRIERS TO EAST-WEST
TRADE, FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AND ON CURRENT
SITUATION IN MIDDLE EAST. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING ACCOUNT HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED WITH SENATOR
STEVENSON, WHO MAY WISH TO COMMENT FROM MOSCOW OR WARSAW.

2. ON MORNING OF JANUARY 10 EMBASSY ADJUSTED SCHEDULE OF
CALLS SO THAT SENATOR STEVENSON COULD MEET WITH PRESIDENT
CEAUSESCU AT PRESIDENT'S MOUNTAIN LODGE IN PREDEAL. NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT NICOLAE GIOSAN AND AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED
STEVENSON TO MEETING WHERE CEAUSESCU GREETED STEVENSON VERY
WARMLY BEFORE A BATTERY OF PRESS AND NEWSREEL CAMERAS; PRESS
LEFT AFTER OPENING FORMALITIES.

3. EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR WARM RECEPTION HE HAD RECEIVED
AND ESPECIALLY FOR POSSIBILITY TO MEET WITH CEAUSESCU, STEVENSON
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EMPHASIZED THAT HIS INTERESTS WERE PRIMARILY ECONOMIC RISING
OUT OF HIS SENATE COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES. HE OBSERVED THAT
ROMANIA HAD PROBABLY DONE MORE TO INTEGRATE ITS ECONOMY WITH
THAT OF WORLD IN GENERAL THAN OTHER GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN
EUROPE. MORE AND MORE RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS WERE ANXIOUS TO
BREAK THE BARRIERS TO ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL TRADE AND CO-
OPERATION BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE EAST. IF THIS WERE ACHIEVED,

PROGRESS ON SUCH MILITARY AND POLITICAL MATTERS AS DETENTE WOULD BE FACILITATED. STEVENSON INQUIRED WHY ROMANIA WAS ABLE TO TAKE THE POSITION IT HAD AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAD NOT.

4. CEAUSESCU SAID HE WAS NOT CERTAIN A WALL REALLY EXISTED BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. IT WOULD BE MORE CORRECT TO SPEAK OF A NUMBER OF ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS WHICH TENDED TO FRUSTRATE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES AND SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES. OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING, COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST SHOULD BE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL. ANY POLICIES WHICH SOUGHT TO DIVIDE THESE AREAS FROM THE WORLD COULD NOT ENDURE. BUT THESE RELATIONSHIPS SHOULD PROCEED FROM MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ALSO NECESSARY IS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN GIVEN COUNTRY IS AN EXAMPLE OF COUNTRY'S SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPRESSES THE RIGHT OF EACH PEOPLE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN SYSTEM. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIALIST SYSTEMS OF THE EAST AND SYSTEMS OF THE WEST, ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE UNITED STATES, SHOULD NOT BE OBSTACLES TO FRIENDLY RELATIONS. IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, CEAUSESCU SAID, HE SAW NEED FOR THE U.S. TO UNDERSTAND MORE PROFOUNDLY FACT THAT A SOCIETY BUILT ON LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST PARTY AND WHICH HAS CHOSEN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST

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OPTION IS NOT IN FACT A DANGER TO THE UNITED STATES OR TO ANY COUNTRY. ON THE CONTRARY, SUCH AN OPTION WAS RATHER A FAVORABLE SIGN FOR GOOD RELATIONS.

5. CEAUSESCU SAID ROMANIA HAS HAD NO SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE U., WHICH HAD GROWN PARTICULARLY IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS. OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE BEEN "GOOD ENOUGH" AND WE HAVE CREATED CONDITIONS TO ACHIEVE FURTHER GAINS IN TRADE AND IN JOINT ECONOMIC VENTURES. UNITED STATES BUSINESS LEADERS HAVE TOLD HIM, HE SAID, THAT THEY SEE REAL POSSIBILITIES FOR BROAD COOPERATION NOT ONLY BILATERALLY BUT IN TERMS OF PROSPECTS IN THIRD COUNTRIES. "WE" BELIEVE THE SITUATION AND THE CONDITIONS IN ROMANIA ARE ACCEPTABLE TO AMERICAN BUSINESS. SINCE "WE" NATIONALIZED LONG AGO, THERE IS NO THREAT TO U.S. INVESTMENT. HOWEVER, TWO PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO EXIST FROM ROMANIAN POINT OF VIEW. FIRST, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE MFN ANNUAL REVIEW PROVISION SO FAR AS ROMANIA IS CONCERNED. AN END SHOULD BE PUT TO THE ANNUAL DEBATE WHICH THIS REVIEW PERMITS. SECOND, THERE SHOULD BE GREATER FACILITATION FOR US COMPANIES TO TRANSFER TECHNOLOGY TO ROMANIA.

6. SENATOR STEVENSON SAID THAT ATTITUDES IN THE U.S. MAY BE CHANGING MORE RAPIDLY THAN CEAUSESCU WAS AWARE. HE NOTED THWS POWER CHANGED HANDS MORE RAPIDLY IN AMERICA THAN IN MOST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. CEAUSESCU INTERRUPTED WITH A LAUGH, TO SAY JOKINGLY THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN THIS WAS A GOOD THING AT LEAST FOR THE U.S. SENATOR STEVENSON CONTINUED THAT HE HAD JUST COME FROM BUDAPEST WHERE SECRETARY VANCE HAD RETURNED THE CROWN OF SAINT STEPHEN TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE. DESPITE THE IMPRESSIONS GIVEN BY THE PRESS, THE AMEIRCAN PEOPLE HAD WHOLE-HEARTEDLY SUPPORTED THAT GESTURE. INSOFAR AS THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY WAS CONCERNED, SENATOR STEVENSON NOTED THAT HE HAD PROPOSED AND ACHIEVED CERTAIN RELAXATION IN OUR EXPORT CONTROL

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REGULATIONS. WITH THIS CHANGE COUNTRIES WERE NO LONGER CLASSIFIED AS COMMUNIST OR NONCOMMUNIST, BUT EXPORT CONTROL MATTERS WERE REVIEWED ON AN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY BASIS.

7. WITH REGARD TO MFN, SENATOR STEVENSON SAID THAT JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT WOULD NOT EXIST EXCEPT FOR USSR. AND ALTHOUGH WE WERE PURSUING DETENTE, SALT AND MBFR REDUCTIONS WITH SOVIET UNION, IT WAS HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT DETENTE WAS NOT PRO-CEEDING RAPIDLY. IN FACT, HE HAD OBSERVED THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS POLAND AND HUNGARY DID NOT FEEL FREE TO DO WHAT ROMANIA HAD DONE, INCLUDING PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE IMF. STEVENSON WONDERED WHETHER ONE

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SHOULD NOT PURSUE AN ECONOMIC DETENTE WHICH WOULD PROMOTE SOME ASPECTS OF DETENTE IN OTHER AREAS. HE STILL HAD DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING WHY IT HAD BEEN EASIER FOR ROMANIA TO MOVE TOWARD INTEGRATION OF ITS ECONOMIC SYSTEM WITH WORLD THAN IT HAD BEEN FOR OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES. HE INDICATED THAT RELATIONSHIP OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH SOVIET UNION CONTINUED TO APPEAR TO BE IMPEDIMENT TO THE U.S. DESIRE TO PURSUE KIND OF NATURAL RELATIONSHIPS WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE WITH OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

8. CEAUSESCU RESPONDED THAT SENATOR STEVENSON HAD ALREADY GIVEN ONE ANSWER TO QUESTION. THERE IS A CLEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND POLITICAL DETENTE. IT IS HARDLY POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHERE MILITARY AND POLITICAL TENSIONS EXIST. FOR SOME TIME ROMANIA HAD PROPOSED A COURSE OF BROADER ECONOMIC COOPERATION AS WELL AS POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE. WE HAVE MOLDED OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ACCORDINT TO THIS OBJECTIVE, HE SAID, BUT OUR ACTIONS HAVE LED TO DISCONTENT AMONG OUR ALLIES INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION. WHILE MFN AND JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT CONCERN PRINCIPALLY THE SOVIET UNION, IT HAS AFFECTED RELATIONS WITH ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. IT MAY IN FACT BE AN OBSTACLE IN THE PATH OF DETENTE. IN THAT RESPECT "I AGREE WHEN YOU SAY THAT ECONOMIC DETENTE CAN LEAD TO POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE."

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AND, IN THAT RESPECT, IT IS DIFFICULT FULLY TO UNDERSTAND PURPOSE OF JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT. IN ANY EVENT, IF GOOD COOPERATION CAN BE ACHIEVED BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION, THIS WOULD FAVOR A GREATER SPIRIT OF EAST-WEST CO-OPERATION AND EXCHANGE IN ALL AREAS.

9. SENATOR STEVENSON EXPLAINED HE HAD MEANT TO SAY THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR UNITED STATES TO SEPARATE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES, BUT THIS BEING TRUE, HE ASKED WHETHER WE SHOULD NOT MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT IN ECONOMIC SPHERE SIMILAR TO THAT WE ARE TAKING WITH SOVIETS WITH REGARD TO MILITARY ISSUES. SHOULD WE NOT AIM FOR GLOBAL SYSTEM OF MONETARY AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGE, AND WOULD NOT SUCH GLOBAL SYSTEM HELP PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS? WHAT WOULD BE PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S ADVICE INSOFAR AS CONVERSATIONS SENATOR STEVENSON PLANNED TO HAVE IN MOSCOW, THE NEXT STOP ON HIS ITINERARY? SHOULD HE BRING THIS SUBJECT UP WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND OTHERS?

10. CEAUSESCU RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS INDEED CLOSE LINK BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND PLITICAL MATTERS AND IT WAS DIFFICULT TO HAVE GOOD COOPERATION IN ONE AREA IF IT WERE BAD IN THE OTHER. BEYOND

JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT HE SAW THE NEED FOR BROADER POSSIBILITIES FOR A MORE BROAD-MI GED ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS MORE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF EX-CHANGES WITH OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. CEAUSESCU SAID HOWEVER THAT HE DID NOT LIKE TERM INTEGRATATION. COOPERATION ON BROADEST TERMS IS POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY IF WE WILL HAVE SANE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE WORLD. HE WISHED TO underscore ROMANIA'S POSITION THAT GOOD COOPERATION BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION IN ALL FIELDS WOULD NOT BE BITRIMENTAL TO OTHER STATES-- CAPITALIST OR SOCIALIST. DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH GROMYKO AND OTHERS IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP COULD LEAD TO SOLUTIONS OF PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECT.

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11. STEVENSON SAID HE AGREED THAT PRESENT FORMULA FOR ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WAS INSUFFICIENT, AND THAT HE WOULD HELP TO DVEISE A MORE REASONABLE FORMULA. HOWEVER, WITH REGARD TO MFN, SUCCESS OF AN EFFORT TO DEVISE MORE REASONABLE FORMULA WOULD DEPEND UPON STATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AT TIME ISSUE CAME UP IN CONGRESS. STEVENSON SAID U.S. WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT PRESENT STATE OF WORLD ECONOMY. THERE WERE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, TRADE BARRIERS, AND REAL POSSIBILITY OF A WORLDWIDE RECESSION WITHIN NEXT TWO YEARS, AND ALL OF THIS WAS AGGRAVATED BY ENERGY SHORTAGE. SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF MFN BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA MULD NOT BE ENOUGH. THE REAL PROBLEM REMAINS WHETHER BOTH UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA WOULD HAVE MARKETS ABROAD TO RECEIVE THEIR EXPORTS. THAT WAS WHY HE FAVORED TALKS WITH SOVIET UNION ON GENERAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM AS WELL AS ON A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH WOULD PERMIT FAR GREATER BENEFITS THAN UNDER PRESENT SYSTEM, A SYSTEM IN WHICH ROMAC A WOUVIMBE INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT UPON EXPORTS WHILE COST OF ENERGY IMPORT ROSE.

12. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS SERIOUS AND PERPLEXING AND THAT IT WAS NOT YET CLEAR WHERE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS WOULD ARISE. SOLUTION TO MFN PROBLEM AS IT CONCERNNS BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND ROMANIA WAS NOT THE ANSWER, AND WOULD NOT SOLVE MAJOR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD. HOWEVER, ANYTHING THAT HELPS DESTROY THE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO FAVORABLE COOPERATION. ON QUESTION OF ENERGY AND MTHER MAIN PROBLEMS, THIS WAS A CRITICAL ISSUE WHICH CONCERNED NOT ONLY QUESTION OF KNOWN RESERVES BUT REQUIRED A NEW APPROACH TO PROBLEM OF UTILIZATION OF THESE RESERVES AND A CONTINUING SEARCH FOR NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY. IN HIS VIEW, CEAUSESCU SAID, PROBLEM IS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SMALL GROUP OF DEVELOPED NATIONS WHO POSSESS MOST OF WORLD'S ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND POOR MAJORITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHO REPRESENT 2/3 OF WORLD'S POPULATION. CHALLENGE

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WE FACE IS TO ESTABLISH A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER
WHICH WOULD LIQUIDATE PRESENT HUGE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR.

13. STEVENSON NOTED THAT SOME OF RICH ARE POOR AND SOME OF POOR ARE RICH. THE LINES BETWEENTHEM ARE BLURRED, AND ANY NEW ORDER MUST INCLUDE A GLOBAL MONETARY SYSTEM, A SORT OF WORLD MONETARY FUND WHICH COULD FINANCE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICITS THROUGHOUT WORLD. DEBT HAD QUINTUPLED SINCE OIL PRICE INCREASE IN 1973. U.S. AND ROMANIA PROBABLY APPROACH PROBLEM FROM DIFFERENT PROSPECTIVES, BUT WE COME OUT CLOSE TO SAME POSITION, AND ANY NEW ARRANGEMENT MUST INCLUDE SOVIET UNION. IN THAT RESPECT, HE SAID HE WOULD FAVOR MFN ON A GLOBAL BASIS. IN FACT, HE HAS A ROMANIAN TRACTOR ON HIS FARM. WITHOUT MFN THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE. WHERLHE RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID, HE WILL DO WHAT HE CAN TO IMPROVE THE MFN SITUATION INSOFAR AS ROMANIA IS CONCERNED.

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14. CEAUSEYBU SAID HE WAS NOT SPEAKING OF MFN WHENNUJ TALKED OF BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. HE AGREED WITH NEED FOR NEW DEPARTURES IN WORLD ECONOMIC RELATIONS, BUT IN DESIGNING AND IN BUILDING THESE NEW RELATIONSHIPS ALL STATES MUST PARTICIPATE: CERTAINLY SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. PRESENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM PLACES LIMITS BOTH ON DEMAND AND ON NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION.

A NEW ORDER WOULD HAVE TO ASSURE MONETARY STABILITY, BUT NO WORLD MONETARY FUND COULD ASSURE STABILITY IF ALL EFFORTS ARE NOT MADE TO IMPROVE PRODUCTIVITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

14. TURNING TO POLITICAL ISSUES, STEVENSON INQUIRED WHAT CEAUSESCU THOUGHT U.S. SHOULD BE DOING TO PROMOTE PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT AN ACTIVE PROCESS IS UNDER-WAY LEADING TO A REAL SEARCH FOR PEACE. THE MEETING BETWEEN SADAT AND BEGIN BOTH IN ISRAEL AND IN EGYPT HAVE CREATED A NEW SITUATION WHICH IS FAVORABLE TO SEARCH FOR PEACE. HOWEVER, MANY COUNTRIES AND FORCES DIRECTLY CONCERNED ARE NOT PARTICIPATING IN PRESENT TALKS. A REAL PROBLEM IS TO FIND WAYS WHERE ALL CONCERNED MAY PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH AIM OF REACHING ADEQUATE AGREEMENTS. LASTING PEACE CAN ONLY COME WITH ACHIEVEMENT OF GLOBAL SOLUTION WHICH INCLUDES ALL OF PROBLEMS AND PARTICULARLY PROBLEM OF PALESTINIANS. CEAUSESCU SAID HE BELIEVED PROBLEMS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT COULD BE SOLVED

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FAIRLY EASILY. MORE DIFFICULT BUT STILL IN AREA OF POSSIBILITY ARE PROBLEMS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. THE BASIC PROBLEM REMAINED THAT OF PALESTINIANS, AND UNITED STATES SHOULD TRY TO CONVINCE ISRAEL AND PARTICULARLY PREMIER BEGIN TO ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF SELFWDDETERMINAUON OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AS WELL AS PARTICIPATION OF PLO IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS HARD TO AVOID PARTICIPATION OF PLO IN THE PROCESS, AND PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO WOULD STRENGTHEN MODERATE FORCES WITHIN THAT ORGANIZATION, WHILE PARTICIPATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM GAZA AND THE WEST BANK WOULD FACILITATE DISCUSSION CONCERNING THOSE PARTICULAR AREAS. IN THIS RESPECT, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID, U.S. SENATE AND THE CONGRESS HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE AND SENATE MUST HELP TO CONVINCE ISRAEL TO ACCEPT A POSITION ON MIDDLE EAST WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A SOLUTION TO PALESODNIAN QUESTION. CEAUSESCU SAID HE HAD STRESSED WITH PRESIDENT BEGIN'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE AT GREAT LENGTH THE ROMANIAN POSITION. U.S. HAS AN IMPORTANT PART TO PLAY. IT IS ALSO ESSENTIAL TO GET SOVIET UNION INTO PROCESS. BUT CENTRAL ISSUE REMAINS PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND UNLESS A SOLUTION IS FOUND TO THAT PROBLEM DISCUSSIONS COULD NEVER BE FRUITFUL AND PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN REGION WOULD BE LOST.

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